# The Soviet mole network running U.S. counterintelligence

by an EIR Investigative Team

At the very beginning of 1988, a purported "official CIA evaluation" of the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy case surfaced among senior French intelligence officers. The essential conclusion of the dossier, according to French officials who directly reviewed it, was that the Pollard case showed only that "one or two" KGB agents had infiltrated Israeli intelligence. No higher-level problems were shown to exist within the Mossad. The purported document went on to say, that while senior Israeli officials, including Ariel Sharon and Rafael "Dirty Rafi" Eytan, would be cut off from continued collaboration with their American counterparts, there was no evidence suggesting that the pair were either Soviet "moles" or involved in any witting perfidy with Moscow.

Whether or not the document was a bona fide CIA damage assessment, the evaluation, as reported, is a fraud. Not only was Jonathan Jay Pollard merely one small fish in an extensive Soviet "false flag" espionage ring run through the highest levels of Israeli intelligence; the same ring, operating principally through Israeli and social democratic channels, has successfully penetrated the inner sanctums of the Reagan administration's counterintelligence apparatus.

The "CIA document" bears mentioning, because it perhaps provides a clue to the identities of some of the "bigger fish"—American and Israeli—who are still in place, attempting to "damage control" the continuing search for "other Pollards."

The fact is, Jonathan Pollard, the Naval Intelligence employee arrested in the United States as an Israeli spy in December 1985, and Shabtai Kalmanowitch, the high-ranking Mossad official arrested in Israel as a Soviet spy in December 1987, are by no means "aberrations." There are scores of Kalmanowitches and Pollards buried in the Reagan administration and the U.S. intelligence community.

There are four major reasons why this has come to pass:

- 1) Moscow has been able to easily penetrate the Reagan administration because the latter has allowed overt Mossad officials to be placed in some of its most sensitive posts.
- 2) The primary advisers of the Reagan administration on Soviet disinformation and penetration, are either Soviet agents themselves, or operatives of networks primarily under Soviet control, such as the "right-wing" social democracy.
- 3) The powerful Mellon banking family has sponsored the infiltration of this Soviet-Mossad network.
  - 4) This very network oversaw the reorganization of U.S.

intelligence, during which whole categories of U.S. operations were "privatized"—into the hands of the Soviets' Israeli and social democratic assets.

# Not moles, but mole hills

At least one former CIA senior Soviet analyst who has undertaken a study of the Soviet success in running "false flag" operations is convinced that the Soviet-Israeli intelligence penetration is coordinated at the highest levels of the LEKEM. Conforming to Soviet intelligence requirements, LEKEM, the scientific espionage unit headed by former Mossad European director and Terror Against Terror boss Rafi Eytan, was principally targeted against the United States. Pollard was one of perhaps as many as 50 "agents" in the Washington, D.C. area alone, who were regularly passing classified U.S. military and intelligence data back to Israel and ultimately, on to the Russians. As the Pollard case revealed, each of these agents required the logistical support of a small army of supporting characters, manning safehouses, letter drops, duplicating facilities, and bank accounts. Others couriered the pilfered material back to Israel, where an even larger, more senior team was responsible for reviewing and analyzing the data. Case officers, working under the cover of diplomatic posts or Israeli business fronts, maintained control over each of the "Pollards" in the field.

As with any espionage organization, LEKEM was a highly compartmentalized unit. The key to its success lay in the fact that the intelligence "tasking"—the targeting of specific information—was a top-down process, flowing from the overall requirements of the agency, fine-tuned through continuing analysis of the raw intelligence product, and regularly reevaluated on the basis of the access and capabilities of the agents in the field.

Given that a significant majority of the material gathered by Pollard conformed to Soviet, rather than Israeli, intelligence requirements, the Soviet collusion or penetration necessarily occurred at the top. The Sharon-Eytan grouping within the Israeli establishment provided one obvious nesting-ground for Soviet agents. LEKEM, under top-down control by Sharon-Eytan, was a Soviet intelligence unit functioning under the Israeli flag.

According to U.S. intelligence sources, and published reports on a lengthy affidavit submitted in February 1987 by then-Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to the sentenc-

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ing judge in the Pollard case, the United States was able to catch Pollard as the result of a counterintelligence analysis of U.S. secrets known to have found their way into Soviet hands. Pollard's name popped up through back-tracking of all intelligence personnel authorized to access certain classified naval intelligence. It seems that the naval anti-terrorism research analyst, operating out of a Naval Investigative Service facility, the Anti-Terrorist Tracking Center in Suitland, Maryland, had been accessing compartmentalized data unrelated to his immediate work assignment.

On Feb. 19, 1988, Washington Post writer Bob Woodward reported that the Justice Department was in a scramble to unearth at least one more "Pollard," believed to be in a senior position in either the Pentagon or the CIA. According to Woodward's sources, Pollard, during months of debriefings and polygraph tests, had revealed that his LEKEM case officer had shown him classified government indexes listing various secret materials. The listing is believed to have been turned over to LEKEM by a high-ranking "Mr. X," whom the U.S. government is now trying to expose.

Taking the former CIA official's estimate, that at any given time, LEKEM could have maintained no more than 50 "Jonathan Pollards" in the greater Washington area without running the risk of a "circuit overload"—too much raw data awaiting evaluation back in Israel—and assuming 10-20 part-time and full-time support personnel, case officers, etc. for each "Pollard," it is not unrealistic to estimate that between 500-1,000 operatives, for the most part Israeli citizens, played some role in the LEKEM operation at different points.

By comparison, 28 months after the initial arrest of Pollard and his wife Anne Henderson Pollard, the total number of people indicted in the affair stands at only six or seven, among them Eytan (reportedly so; the indictment remains sealed), and Col. Aviem Sella, an Israeli Air Force officer who allegedly recruited Pollard to LEKEM in the early 1980s.

When Colonel Sella was named as the suspected "recruitment officer," at least one transplanted Israeli citizen in Boston, Massachusetts must have breathed a sigh of relief: Prof. Uri Ra'anan, chairman of the International Security Studies Program at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, has been identified by both U.S. and Israeli sources as a LEKEM spotter-recruiter, believed to have been personally involved in the Pollard operation.

Pollard studied under Ra'anan at the Fletcher School following his 1976 graduation from Stanford University. Pollard was "bright and articulate," Ra'anan told *New York Times* reporter Robert Pear in November 1985. Pollard's studies at Fletcher were without question essential to his hiring by Naval Intelligence in 1979, and his unique usefulness for LEKEM. And here is where, according to sources, Ra'anan's role was pivotal to the Pollard-LEKEM effort.

### The Fletcher School recruiting grounds

The Fletcher School is one of the preeminent training and recruiting grounds for America's intelligence and foreign



Ariel Sharon, leader of a group in the Israeli establishment that provides one nesting-ground for Soviet agents.

services. According to a winter 1985 article in the *National Reporter*, students at Fletcher, the oldest graduate school of diplomacy in the United States, are overwhelmingly tracked into careers in the foreign service, the CIA, and the Pentagon. For example, of the approximately 300 Fletcher School graduates holding positions with the State Department as of the end of 1985, five are now ambassadors. Three consecutive U.S. ambassadors to El Salvador—Thomas Pickering, Deane Hinton, and Robert White—were all Fletcher graduates.

While only 19 Fletcher alumni were officially listed as CIA employees as of 1985, a larger, unestimated number are known to be covert CIA employees whose affiliation with the agency is secret. The CIA's coordinator for academic relations as of 1985, Ralph E. Cook, whose job is to oversee university recruitment and to coordinate contract work by university professors, departments, and institutes, is himself a graduate of the Fletcher School.

The 19-member Advisory Council to Ra'anan's Security Studies Program reads like a "who's who" in intelligence. As of the 1985, its members included:

- William Bundy, former CIA analyst and editor-inchief of the New York Council on Foreign Relations' Foreign Affairs quarterly;
- Adm. Stansfield Turner, director of the CIA during the Carter administration;
- Adm. Bobby Ray Inman, deputy director of the CIA from 1981-82, and former director of the NSA;
- U. Alexis Johnson, a former ambassador and a longtime member of the Forty Committee, the NSC body overseeing covert operations;
- R. Daniel McMichael and Gen. Matthew B. Ridgeway, both trustees of the Richard Mellon Scaife Foundation;

- Rear Adm. Jonathan Howe, former director of the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs;
- Robert Everett, president of the MITRE Corporation, a think tank principally involved in intelligence community contract work.

Professor Ra'anan's reported involvement in the Pollard recruitment has devastating implications for U.S. national security. As a senior faculty member at Fletcher since 1967, and director of the Security Studies Program, Ra'anan has been in a position to place scores of young postgraduates into sensitive positions within the intelligence community and foreign service. Moreover, Ra'anan was ushered into a prominent position in the American intelligence community because he was already associated with Israeli intelligence in some capacity. Numerous other Israeli-approved operatives have been so ushered into prominent positions, particularly since 1967.

### Ra'anan's remarkable career

From the sketchy biographical material available in the public record, Ra'anan emerges as a most interesting character. Born Heinz Felix Frischwasser somewhere in Central Europe in 1926, he fled Nazi occupation and landed in England in 1939. The only clue as to his family background, which he defines as "proletarian," is a passing reference in one of his early writings, in which he lauds Austrian socialist Otto Bauer, who operated in the Viennese Communist International circles intersecting, first, Alexander Helphand (a.k.a. Parvus) and later Harold "Kim" Philby. Historians of the Nazi era know that, by 1939, no one managed to escape the Nazi persecution, unless they were either part of some organized political resistance movement, or had been "adopted" as a cause célèbre by some international agency, such as Leo Cherne's International Rescue Committee.

In England, Frischwasser became a student at Oxford University, where he was brought into a circle of eminent British intelligence seniors, including Sir Reginald Coupland, editor of the British intelligence journal Round Table, and author of the 1937 Peel Commission report that imposed the Arab-Jewish partition of Palestine, and of the 1942 Cripps Commission report that similarly partitioned the Indian subcontinent; B.H. Sumner, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, and the Russian desk officer of the British Foreign Office's wartime intelligence bureau; Frederick William Dampier Deakin, Warden of St. Anthony's College, Oxford, and head of the first British Special Operations Executive (SOE) wartime mission to Josef Tito's Yugoslav communist partisans; after the war, Deakin was the first British intelligence chief in Yugoslavia.

After completing his Oxford thesis on the prospective role of Zionism as an instrument in the Great Power struggle, Frischwasser emigrated to Israel sometime in the early 1950s, at which time he adopted the name Uri Ra'anan. The chief Mossad officer in London at this time was Rafi Eytan, the official Israeli liaison officer to British intelligence. Ra'anan's

mentors, all senior British Foreign Office and MI-6 intelligence hands with special credentials in Middle East and Soviet affairs, were in the circuit of intelligence officials who dealt with Eytan.

According to a former American foreign service officer who served in Israel during this period, Rafi Eytan, notwithstanding his later reputation as a ruthless right-wing hooligan, originally came out of the Trotskyist wing of the international Communist movement, a wing which had substantial overlaps with the socialist Zionists.

According to a 1980 CIA Office of Security probe, Eytan was also, at the time of his London Mossad posting, in fairly close contact with the parents of Roy Godson, today one of Professor Ra'anan's closest collaborators on the "mole hill."

Israeli sources have confirmed that Ra'anan has been a beneficiary of Eytan's patronage for some time. It seems that, shortly after his arrival in Israel, Ra'anan was sent to the United States, serving for three years as an "information officer" at the Israeli embassy in Washington, and for three more years in the same post at the Israeli consulate in New York City.

When he joined the faculty at the Fletcher School in 1967, Ra'anan was concerned to conceal his position with the Israeli government. According to one account, he once forced the school to recall every copy of its annual catalogue, when he discovered that his government posts had been listed. Today, his official 1987 Fletcher School catalogue biography simply reports his having a background in "political journalism and international diplomacy."

Ra'anan arrived at Fletcher in the late 1960s, after brief teaching stints at Columbia University, Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

In 1973, the Fletcher School's International Security Studies program in conjunction with Harvard's government department, initiated a series of annual conferences on a wide range of strategic topics. In every case, the proceedings of the conferences were published, with Ra'anan always listed as the editor. Dozens of senior figures in the U.S. intelligence community and the military were brought in as speakers or attendees at these affairs. Through these affairs, over the 1970s, Ra'anan gradually was insinuated into the higher levels of the U.S. intelligence establishment.

From its founding, the Security Studies Institute was financed almost exclusively through a continuing series of grants from the Scaife Family Charity Trust, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, and the Allegheny Foundation. All three are the personal fiefdoms of Richard Mellon Scaife, the current scion of the Pittsburgh Mellon family. The Mellon Scaife fortune has been a pivotal source of funding for virtually every component of the Ra'anan-Godson-centered Soviet penetration of U.S. intelligence.

In fact, in the course of the congressional Iran-Contra hearings, evidence was presented linking a top Mellon Scaife family executor, Clyde Terry Sleaze III, to Roy Godson in a

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scheme to launder tax-exempt charitable donations illegally to the Contras. Several Washington, D.C. sources are reporting that Irangate Special Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh will likely hand down indictments against Sleaze and Godson for this.

The 1973 launching of the national security seminars at Fletcher thrust Ra'anan and a small circle of his intimates into the center of policymaking on the future direction of U.S. intelligence, military, and foreign policy. This is adequately indicated by a sampling of the topics and participants in the Fletcher series:

- May 3-5, 1973: "Conference on the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Balance and Nuclear Multipolarity." Among the speakers were: Uri Ra'anan; John Erickson, head of Defense Studies at the University of Edinburgh; and Richard Burt, currently the U.S. ambassador to West Germany. Among the 50-odd participants were nine active-duty U.S. military officers, including future NATO Supreme Commander John Galvin, officials of the CIA, National Security Council, and State Department intelligence.
- Sept. 26-28, 1974: "The Other Arms Race: New Technologies and Non-Nuclear Conflict." Among the speakers were: Amos A. Jordan, a Reagan ambassador to NATO and chairman of Georgetown's Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), also Mellon Scaife-funded; Mitre Corporation terrorism specialist Brian Jenkins.
- May 1977: "Scarce Resources and International Conflict" and April 1978: "Development and Security." These two conferences led to the 1979 publication, Ethnic Resurgence in Modern Democratic States, a series of essays edited by Ra'anan. This volume was the outgrowth of two grants to Ra'anan from the Battelle Seattle Research Center and the Rockefeller Foundation from 1973-75, which enabled him to travel throughout Europe and the Middle East, profiling ethnic insurgency movements.

### Ra'anan hits the big time

By April 1979, Ra'anan's annual security studies conference focused directly on "Intelligence Policy and National Security." The speakers now included former CIA director William Colby; Richard Perle and Richard Pipes, both slated for top posts in the Reagan administration's national security structure; Ladislav Bittman, a Czech intelligence official who defected in August 1968 in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion; Reginald V. Jones, wartime director of British Scientific Intelligence and one of the most highly respected figures in British military intelligence; Amrom Katz, former assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Thomas Latimer, staff director of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; and Maj. Gen. Jasper A. Welch, Jr., special assistant to the U.S. Air Force chief of staff.

In the introduction to the book-length proceedings, published in early 1981, Ra'anan could not help but gloat.

"The Eighth Annual Conference . . . brought together,

within the parameters of a working symposium, practitioners, former officials, and theorists drawn from the government, private and academic policy 'communities.' Several of the approximately 70 participants pointed out that this seemed to be the only forum for creative interaction between the various sectors.

"Meeting under the formal heading of 'Intelligence: Deception and Surprise,' the Conference furnished an unusual opportunity for examining issues, such as: the adequacy of existing and former organizational structures to cope with increasing demands by decision makers for adequate intelligence; the closely related issues of command and control; the problem of political and strategic warning. . . . Moreover, special sessions were devoted to specifics, including technological problems affecting assessments of the correlation of forces between the Soviet Union and the U.S., within SALT II and beyond, as well as such purely American issues as the roles, respectively, of the Executive and of Congress in intelligence gathering and evaluations."

In short, Ra'anan was now integrated into the team that would shape the "rebuilding" of American intelligence and counterintelligence under the anticipated Reagan presidency. On April 20, 1980, Richard Allen, foreign policy coordinator for candidate Reagan, announced the creation of a campaign foreign policy advisory group. Ra'anan was among those named to help shape Reagan's foreign policy and defense platform.

Sources familiar with the broader investigation triggered by the November 1985 Pollard arrests, report that Ra'anan is more than a LEKEM "talent scout." Through his buildup of credentials as a Middle East and Soviet specialist, Ra'anan has positioned himself to access sensitive intelligence, and to spread disinformation.

For instance, in 1985, Ra'anan edited a profile of international terrorism, Hydra of Carnage, whose lead chapter was authored by CIA director William J. Casey. A collection of Ra'anan associates also contributed to the volume. Among them were: Herbert Romerstein, now the chief aide to USIA chief and Armand Hammer colleague Charles Z. Wick; author Claire Sterling; Ra'anan epigone Richard H. Shultz; Neil C. Livingstone, a Fletcher graduate; and former NSC consultant and "anti-terrorism expert" Michael A. Ledeen.

According to his associates, the semi-official *Hydra* study placed the Fletcher Security Studies head in a position to debrief leading Warsaw Pact defectors. According to Ra'anan himself, by the summer of 1987, he was involved full-time in a profiling and debriefing study of defectors, in collaboration with Roy Godson. The project is believed to be a contract study under the auspices of either the CIA, NSC, or USIA. In interviews early last year, Ra'anan indicated that he would be spending the entire summer of 1987 in Western Europe interviewing Warsaw Pact defectors for "the study."

That an Oxford-trained Israeli intelligence hand linked to Pollard should have been hired by the U.S. government to conduct a study of the U.S. intelligence community's han-

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dling of Soviet bloc defectors, is truly pathetic. The fact that Ra'anan was apparently teamed up with Georgetown University's Roy Godson in this project, is an even more damning indictment of the state of U.S. counterintelligence, and the degree to which it has been penetrated by hostile services.

# Roy Godson, Bukharinite

Roy Godson is the offspring of a senior figure in the American-based faction of the "Trust." His father, Joseph Godson, a German-Polish emigré, was born on Jan. 15, 1913. Coming to the United States, Joseph became an associate of Communist Party U.S.A. founder Jay Lovestone.

Lovestone was an ally of Bolshevik Party founder Nikolai Bukharin, who was purged from the Politburo by Stalin at the Sixth Party Congress of the CPSU in 1929. Bukharin's followers constituted an anti-Stalinist faction within the Communist International, known as the "Right Opposition." (They did not cease to be Communists!) A similar "dissident" faction within the international Communist movement, aligned with Trotsky, formed what came to be called the "Left Opposition." The more "cosmopolitan" anti-Stalinist Communists of the Lovestone-Bukharin and Trotsky stripes allied with leading Western factions, including the Mellon and Morgan families in the United States. Morgan financing of the Communist Party U.S.A. through leading Morgan banker Thomas Lamont and his Fabian "banker's socialist" son Corliss, is notorious. Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon was one of the leading proponents of expanded American trade with the Bolshevik state, and he enthusiastically embraced Lenin's New Economic Plan (NEP). A whole complex of American companies, tied to Citibank and to the du Ponts, formed the American International Company at 120 Broadway in lower Manhattan, in order to advance this American-Soviet trade partnership. That relationship constitutes the core of the "Trust."

Western counterintelligence agencies have known the "Trust" historically, but have been blind to its modern continuation of the historic Trust operation, because the leading Bukharinite figures involved have adopted the political label, "social democrat." Such American social democratic institutions as the League for Industrial Democracy (LID) and the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), as the case of Joseph and Roy Godson make clear, are pivotal to today's Trust.

Joseph Godson entered the "Right Opposition" layers of the U.S. Communist movement through the Jewish Labor Committee, created by Lovestoneite Communist Charles Zimmerman and Lovestone's primary patron, David Dubinsky. Typical of the interplay between these Bukharinites and certain factions within the U.S. Establishment, was J. Edgar Hoover's insistence that the Lovestoneites be invited in to train FBI recruits in Marxist ideology and communist methods.

Through the Jewish Labor Committee, which collaborated closely with Jay Lovestone in such operations as the International Rescue Committee (IRC), Joseph Godson be-

came directly involved in the efforts to save leading members of the Communist and Socialist parties of Central Europe from execution by Hitler. When the United States finally entered World War II, the connections of the Lovestoneites of the IRC into Europe became a short-term strategic asset for American war-planners. Leo Cherne's IRC headquarters in New York City became a virtual hiring hall for recruits into the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner to the CIA. Many leading Trust operatives found their way into the postwar American intelligence and foreign service establishment.

Jay Lovestone, the leading anti-Stalin Communist, became the liaison between the AFL-CIO and the CIA and State Department. Lovestone, as head of the International Division of the AFL-CIO, virtually hand-picked every labor attaché posted at the major embassies. Joe Godson, who apparently held a public relations and charity directorship with the AFL-CIO from 1940-50, was one of them. Godson entered the State Department in 1950, serving as a labor attaché in several overseas embassy assignments, including Ottawa (1950-53) and London (1953-59). From 1959-61, he was the first secretary of the U.S. embassy in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, going on to be consul general in Zagreb, Yugoslavia from 1962-64. From 1964-68, apparently headquartered in London, Godson was the labor and U.N. special adviser to the State Department's European Bureau. From 1968 until his formal retirement from the foreign service in 1971, he was the consul general in Edinburgh, Scotland.

# In the footsteps of his father

Every step along the way, Roy Godson trod in his father's footsteps. "Joe's son," as he is called in British social democratic circles, went to Middlebury College, taking his junior year at the London School of Economics. He went on to Columbia University for his postgraduate and doctoral work. Not surprisingly, Roy Godson's first teaching post was at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh (1967-69), where he also was hired in 1967 to serve as a program director of the Pittsburgh World Affairs Council, a regional outpost of the flagship New York Council on Foreign Relations. According to the introduction to his first published book, American Labor and European Politics (1976), Godson received a generous grant from R. Daniel McMichael, the chief executor of a string of tax-exempt foundations and charitable trusts controlled by Richard Mellon Scaife.

McMichael underwrote an extended European and American tour by Godson, during which he conducted a series of interviews with Irving Brown; Jay Lovestone; David Dubinsky, International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) president and head of the Jewish Labor Committee; Averell Harriman; George Meany, then AFL-CIO president; Charles Zimmerman, former Communist Party organizer, ILGWU vice president, and head of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID); and others. The Mellon Scaifefunded book was an apology for the role of the Bukharinites

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Communist Party U.S.A. founder Jay Lovestone, political godfather to the Godsons, in 1924, "left." Banker Andrew Mellon as Treasury Secretary in 1930, "right": one of the leading proponents of expanded American trade with the Bolshevik state.



and the labor wing of the social democracy during the Cold War

By 1973, Godson was working directly for the Lovestone-Brown wing of U.S. intelligence, through a teaching post in labor studies at Georgetown University, Godson began to work closely with the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC) and its Front Royal, Virginia-based American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). These programs were set up in the immediate postwar period, as the private fiefdoms of Lovestone and Irving Brown. According to numerous published sources, the Lovestone-Brown FTUC was heavily bankrolled by the CIA's International Operations Division under Tom Braden. Thus, the official American intelligence apparatus assigned to combat Soviet penetration of the European and Third World labor movements, was run top-down by a pair of unrepentant followers of Nikolai Bukharin.

Godson's sponsorship into the international labor chair at Georgetown was complemented by his 1973 appointment as director of Frontlash, the official youth group of the AFL-CIO. In 1975, he was placed on the board of LID, the flagship political action group of the Bukharinite social democracy in the United States.

Godson was also made a director of the American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute, a Socialist-Israeli lobbying and intelligence-gathering outfit.

Godson's own Bukharinite leanings were clearly spelled out in his 1978 book *Eurocommunism: Implications for East and West* (St. Martin's Press). In it, he proposes that an "independent" Communist political movement in Western Europe could add new dynamism to the political process, and serve the overall interests of the West.

# The 'Consortium' plans the takeover

Godson's series of writings on the international labor movement and the East-West struggle had, by the late 1970s, qualified him as an "expert" on Soviet methods. His transformation into a "national security specialist" began in 1979, when he received a chunk of money from his old backers at the Mellon Scaife Foundation, to launch the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence (CSI).

The Consortium was for Godson, what the annual national security seminar series at Fletcher was for Uri Ra'anan: It laundered him into the intelligence community. The Consortium was, in fact, a direct extension and upgrading of the 1970s Fletcher series, reflecting the expectation of a Reagan presidency and a process of rebuilding of America's collapsed intelligence capabilities. The role of Godson, Ra'anan, the Consortium, etc., was to preserve U.S. dependence on Israel for critical overseas intelligence and covert operations missions, dependence on an Israeli intelligence service heavily penetrated by the Soviets.

A careful study of the book-length transcripts of the seven CSI seminars held between 1979 and 1984 reveals that the entire Project Democracy program of Irangate fame—what Sen. David Boren (D-Okla.) has called the "secret parallel government"—was hatched at these events, and at a pair of accompanying events sponsored by the American Bar Association's Committee on Law and National Security (also Mellon Scaife funded). The list of participants in the Godson CSI series could very well have served as an initial target list for Lawrence Walsh's investigation of the Iran-Contra affair.

# Ted Shackley: more than a 'loose cannon'

Godson's move into the periphery of the national security and intelligence establishment appears to have been very much tied to the reemergence of CIA official Theodore G. Shackley as a pivotal player in William Casey's effort to rebuild U.S. intelligence. At the Consortium event on "Intelligence Requirements for the 1980s: Covert Action," held in Washington, D.C. in early December 1980, Shackley gave one of the critical presentations, laying out a detailed proposal for the rebuilding of America's covert paramilitary capabilities. The Shackley speech was a recipe for the subsequent Nicaraguan Contra effort, complete with the "off-line" funding.



Richard Perle and Barbara Ledeen—part of the small army of Israeli agents-of-influence who held key posts at the Pentagon from the outset of the Reagan administration.

According to one intelligence hand, Shackley gave a similar presentation to the 1980 Reagan transition team on intelligence. Attending that briefing, according to the source, were: William Casey; Vice President-elect George Bush; and Max Hugel, Casey's first director of covert operations. Shackley, who had gathered various rogues around him from his days as CIA station chief in Miami and, later, Laos, proposed that the rebuilt covert and paramilitary apparatus be run "off-line," and in collusion with the Israelis, and reportedly urged that the new special teams be run directly out of the White House. It seems that this proposal was not only adopted in large measure, but that Shackley himself was brought in on a contract basis to oversee it, allegedly at the personal initiative of Donald Gregg, then an aide to National Security Adviser Richard Allen, and later to be national security adviser to George Bush.

# The Godson team seizes power

In late summer 1983, after the U.S. invasion of the island of Grenada, which had been all but grabbed up by Soviet-backed military officers, two Godson intimates, Herbert Romerstein and Michael Ledeen, were contracted by the National Security Council and the U.S. Information Agency under Charles Z. Wick, to do a detailed analysis of all documents captured on Grenada to assess how the Soviets had planned to use the island beachhead.

In the interim, the Godson team had virtually overrun the national security establishment, placing key operatives into vital corners of the Reagan administration's counterintelligence apparatus:

- Godson himself became a senior consultant to the National Security Council.
- Herbert Romerstein, in the wake of his Grenada "study," became the principal adviser to USIA chief Wick

on Soviet disinformation. In 1984, Godson and Richard Shultz, a Fletcher School underling of Ra'anan, had co-authored a book, *Soviet Disinformation*. The theme of the study was that democracies, by their very nature, are incapable of keeping up with totalitarian states in the continuing war of "active measures." What Godson and Shultz advocate, is essentially a sacrificing of democratic republican institutions in favor of secret government methods to "out-KGB the KGB."

• Michael Ledeen, was much more frank in labeling the approach to dealing with the Russians. In his book-length study, he called for "universal fascism." Ledeen, already a policy adviser to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, and later to National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane, became a principal "back-channel" between the Reagan administration and the Israelis, following a November 1984 secret Hamburg, West Germany meeting between Ted Shackley and several top representatives of the Khomeini regime in Teheran, at which the arms-for-hostages package was first placed on the table.

At the Pentagon, a small army of Israeli agents had occupied key posts from the very outset of the administration. Chief among these were: Steven Bryen, Noel Koch, Richard Perle, Barbara Ledeen (wife of Michael Ledeen), and Secretary of the Navy John Lehman.

One of the key new institutions established by Godson and friends is the appropriately named *Disinformation* magazine, set up in the fall of 1985, purportedly to monitor Soviet "active measures" against the West. Most noteworthy, it focuses on low-level questions such as forgeries, scrupulously neglecting any Soviet disinformation operations of strategic dimensions. The periodical's advisory board includes numerous East bloc "defectors" graduates of Ra'anan's Fletcher School, and Ra'anan himself.

# The defective defectors

In November 1986, Vitaly S. Yurchenko, a high-ranking KGB officer walked out of a Washington, D.C. restaurant, leaving his CIA babysitter waiting for him. He went to the Soviet embassy, and a few days later re-defected to the Soviet Union. The White House and the U.S. intelligence community were in an uproar. Was Yurchenko a phony, a double agent, a plant, part of a strategic deception? The CIA's official evaluation is still classified.

President Reagan publicly speculated that Yurchenko's defection was a disinformation ploy. He commented that Yurchenko's debriefing had produced information of very limited value, and he suggested that the entire affair may have been a Soviet attempt to disrupt preparations for the summit with Gorbachov later that month in Reykjavik.

Perhaps, one indication of what the Yurchenko "nondefection defection" was about, is what Godson's friends did with it. Ra'anan, Godson, and their in-house defectors, began a high-profile campaign to discredit the CIA, accusing it of mishandling not only Yurchenko, but all Soviet defectors.

A close collaborator of Professor Godson, Czech defector Ladislav Bittman (a.k.a. Dr. Lawrence Martin) told news media that Yurchenko was obviously the victim of psychological stress due to his "mistreatment" at the hands of the bungling and uncaring CIA. Was it possible that Yurchenko was a phony defector? Not a chance, said Bittman.

On Nov. 6, 1986, David Lehrer, of the "MacNeil/Lehrer Report," interviewed Bittman. Referencing President Reagan's suspicions earlier that day that Yurchenko and two other recent defectors were phonies, Lehrer asked, "Mr. Bittman, does it smell like a three-part orchestrated ploy to you?" "No it doesn't," responded Bittman. "When I watched Mr. Yurchenko at the press conference, and when I watched his reaction, I think he went through a very severe psychological shock. Actually, every defector goes through that process. It's very serious, a traumatic experience.

"You see, if we have second thoughts whether this was orchestrated or not, in case that Mr. Yurchenko was sent here as a double agent with some kind of special mission, a disinformation mission to deceive the American decision-making elite or the American public, then we have to take into consideration the price the Soviets have to pay for it.

"In order to be believable, he had to come with a lot of true information. . . . If the disinformation campaign is to succeed, it has to be well rooted in factual information, verifiable information. And the relation between true and disinformation information within that disinformation message, is about 90 to 10. Ninety percent of verifiable, true information, and 10 of the disinformation.

"That means in this case, he had to give up a lot of information about KGB agents, about KGB structure, about their operations, about their objectives. That's extremely sensitive information, and a very high price to pay; only to what? To stir up public attention before the summit? I would say they would use this channel for disinformation like Mr.

Yurchenko in case that they think that they would face a very serious crisis between the two countries, between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the message, the disinformation message, would be very important. Something that I would think would be like the countries would face war, military conflict. In that case, they would send somebody like Yurchenko with a very important disinformation message."

Bittman's disingenuous analysis concerning the defection's targeting of the Reykjavik summit, especially with hindsight, is most revealing. Did Bittman forget that the Soviets believe they *are* at war? Summits and arms control negotiations are military reconnaissance missions.

Yurchenko had been debriefed for only three-and-a-half months before he re-defected—by no means enough time to give up substantial amounts of information, but enough time to deliver a disinformation message to influence and disrupt U.S. summit preparations. William Casey personally spent significant time with Yurchenko, and specifically briefed President Reagan in detail on Yurchenko's insights concerning Kremlin strategy for the summit. Reykjavik was a disaster for U.S. strategic interests. it was at Reykjavik that the President first made clear that the United States was willing to give up Western Europe.

Uri Ra'anan and his Fletcher School colleague Richard Shultz joined the chorus, as did former CIA head Stansfield Turner, who said that "many defectors felt poorly treated by Washington. Several have committed suicide," according to a Reuters interview in January 1986. In the same interview, an unnamed intelligence source suggested that plans were under consideration to shift responsibility for defectors away from the CIA to the FBI.

Donald Jameson, a former top CIA official and business partner of Ted Shackley, threw his weight behind Bittman's analysis in a Nov. 10, 1985 New York Times interview. Criticizing the CIA, Jameson said, "The kind of bond and rapport that should have been built between Yurchenko and somebody wasn't made. . . . Maybe the root problem in the whole case is the people handling him saw it as a question of paper shuffling, rather than dealing with human beings."

Whether Yurchenko was "for real" or not, the Godson crowd played the issue to discredit the CIA, and presented themselves as the alternative handlers for East bloc defectors. They established control over a private sector apparatus, which in turn could control the activities and deployment of defectors. In 1984, a group of Chicago business executives set up the Jamestown Foundation, headed by Washington, D.C. attorney William W. Geimer. The foundation provides a broad range of services to help defectors, especially intelligence officers, diplomats, and intellectuals, to get on their feet in the West. Donald Jameson is one of the key individuals with the foundation, and is responsible for screening who gets public access to defectors.

Ra'anan-Godson's Soviet moles are now in charge of Soviet defectors!

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